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WHAT IS THE U.S. ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

Inside Iran today: Oil, $$ & misery

By Tabitha Petran

IRAN (Persia) has the richest single oilfield in the world and a mass living standard second to none in poverty and degradation (per capita income: $85 a year). The oil belongs to the British government's Anglo-Iranian Co., which made reported profits of $400,000,000 last year, never signed a union contract, condemns its workers to life in one-room mud huts without water, light or windows (**Intl. Labor Office**, 1950).

Last week Iran's parliament defied Britain to use force to prevent nationalization of Anglo-Iranian. The newspaper **Iran** warned this would be an act of political suicide, setting the spark to the whole Middle East; **Shahed** threatened every drop of Iranian oil would be set ablaze. The government said it would expel all British workers opposing the seizure. Hossein Maki, secy. of the Oil Committee charged with the take-over, said: "This will mean the beginning of a third World War."

Behind the ferment lie Anglo-U.S. oil rivalry; desperate economic crisis which the corrupt, incompetent rulers have done nothing to alleviate; and the growing strength of the outlawed Tudeh Party, most powerful liberation movement in the Middle East, in face of a terror which in four years has murdered 17,000, jailed 10,000, outlawed all progressive organizations.

OIL WAR BACKGROUND: Britain lost its Middle East oil supremacy when the Rockefeller oil trust moved in force into Saudi Arabia after World War II, upping output there sevenfold 1945-48. At the same time U.S. oil trusts set out to breach Anglo-Iranian monopoly, winning, first, an agreement for purchase of part of its output.

In 1947 the U.S., concluding a secret military pact with Iran, inspired a Seven-Year Development Program. Iran's government obligingly named as its adviser veteran Rockefeller oil man Max W. Thornburg (formerly California Standard)—war-time oil adviser to the State Dept. Thornburg called in Overseas Consultants, Inc.—a group of 11 engineering firms, including Stone & Webster, close to the Standard Oil group, and four Morgan companies.

Played up as a model Point 4 program, though in fact designed to make Iran a war base, OCI's plan became "a popular joke" (**AP**, May 23, 1950). **Business Week** (July 1, 1950) reported Iran "on the brink of serious economic collapse," and the program halted by "political snags." In October the State Dept. tried to bolster the plan with a $25,000,000 Export-Import loan. But the new Premier Razmara, who had been seen as a pro-Western strong man, canceled OCI's contract, ordered U.S. advisers out of Iran, banned the Voice of America, refused U.S. economic aid, signed a trade agreement with Moscow.

Oil — highly inflammable

(1) Abadan, Anglo-Iranian Co. oil center, where troops recently dispersed thousands of Iranian demonstrators; (2) In addition to alerting a parachute regiment at home, the British government has warships lying in the Persian Gulf; (3) The U.S.S.R. is entitled by treaty to send troops across its border if other foreign troops enter Iran.

British workers watch the May Day Parade in Peking

In Peking's Tien An Men Sq., a delegation of British trade unionists salute the procession from an honor reviewing stand—concrete evidence of the British people's friendship for China. L. to r.: Jack Kane, Miners Union; Harry Watson, Lightermen; Harold Dickinson, Amalgamated Weavers Assn.; Esther Henrotte, Royal Arsenal Coop. Society; Tom Ahearne, Natl. Union of Railwaymen; Betty England, Clerical and Administrative Workers; Brian Behan, representing workers at the Festival of Britain site. How about turning international diplomacy over to the workers?

U.S. MANEUVERS: Balked on one front, the U.S. oil trust moved in on the growing popular movement to nationalize Anglo-Iranian. Parliament deputies who had been either "humble servants" of Anglo-Iranian or "devoted friends of Britain" (newspaper **Paytakt-e Ma**) suddenly became ardent supporters of nationalization. Razmara was assassinated. The Soviet press charged the deputies were bought with dollars, Razmara murdered at U.S. instigation because he opposed nationalization. In any case, the Iranian government asked Thornburg to serve as its adviser on nationalization. On April 13 **AP** reported from Teheran that Thornburg

> **. . . charged that British opposition has prevented him from taking a job as oil consultant to the Iranian government, [and] that the British were supported by the U.S. State Dept.**

Newsweek (Harriman-owned, close to the State Dept.) said May 21 that a State Dept. request to major U.S. oil companies not to offer competitive bids for the post-nationalization managerial contract "was rejected unanimously." The companies, it said, are all drafting plans and bids for eventual submission to Teheran.

Britain was reported indignant over the maneuvers of the U.S. companies and ready to end Anglo-U.S. cooperation if the U.S. firms moved in. But the latest British note to Iran was sent only after modification by Washington. It did not threaten force, but a publicized alert of the 16th Parachute Regiment and dispatch of seven new cruisers to the Mediterranean made the British meaning clear. Iran has firmly rejected the British demand for arbitration, scored U.S. intervention. (Washington said Iran would get no U.S. technical aid if it went ahead).

DANGER—INDUSTRIALIZATION! The U.S. oil trust may have a tiger by the tail. Successful nationalization would threaten huge U.S. investments in Saudi Arabia, and the Anglo-U.S. chain of bases. Iranian deputies and the newly-formed Committee Against Imperialist Oil Companies have already demanded take-over of Rockefeller-owned Bahrein oil. Although the West owns 80% of the world's oil, another fear haunts the Rockefellers and the Mellons. The N.Y. **Times'** oil expert J. H. Carmical wrote May 17:

> **The oil of the Near East could be used just as advantageously by Russia for the development of China and other parts of the Far East friendly to her, as by the Western world in Europe and elsewhere. It is for this reason that the U.S. and Europe could hardly afford to see any important part of the Near East oil resources pass to the control of Russia either directly or indirectly through nationalization. Given an abundant supply of cheap oil for power, Russia in the course of a few years could industrialize a large section of Asia.**

Iranian governments have been bought before and theoretically can be again. But the great popular movement against grinding poverty may balk the oil imperialists. Of the peasants—bulk of Iran's population, who sharecrop on a system giving 80% of their crops to the landlord—Chicago **Tribune's** Percy Wood wrote May 5:

> **In villages and fields northeast of Teheran . . . poverty-harried Iranian farmers, laborers, and herdsmen unite in voicing sullen opposition to their king, the British, and even Americans. With one exception those talked to expressed no fear of neighboring Russia.**

HARD HEADS: The Tudeh Party which spearheads the fight for national independence commands the support of 5,000,000 people—a third of the population—according to **AP** May 23 1950. **AP** added:

> **Some authoritative sources consider that is a low estimate. . . Western diplomats say Tudeh is gaining strength without doubt. A hard-headed American source said Tudeh supporters may run up to 80% in Teheran, Isfahan and some other cities.**

Tudeh has held two giant demonstrations in Teheran in the past month. It is fighting for re-legalization, for internal reform, recognition of China, withdrawal from military commitments.

Senate gets end-the-war resolution

WASHINGTON—Sen. Edwin C. Johnson (D-Colo.) introduced the following resolution in the Senate on Thursday, May 17:

Whereas to permit civilization to be destroyed by World War III is utter insanity and unworthy of the men of this century; and

Whereas the Korean War has every appearance of being a hopeless conflict of attrition and indecisiveness and a breeder of bitter racial hatreds; and

Whereas a limited war like a limited or smoldering fire, is gravely dangerous, for it may burst forth into a world-wide conflagration at any moment; and

Whereas the North and South Koreans, the Chinese and the United Nations have suffered more than 1,000,000 casualties, with the only tangible result so far the indescribable misery which has been heaped upon the Korean people; and

Whereas tremendous strides have been made in the development of hitherto unused lethal and destructive weapons of war with potentials of unbelievable fury and horror; and

Whereas by slaughtering additional millions of humans an uneasy peace might in time be forced upon the vanquished; and

Whereas the people of the United States traditionally have held the people of China in the highest esteem and affection and still do; and

Whereas the people of the United States have long recognized the wisdom of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine so eloquently portrayed by the slogan "Asia for Asiatics" if it were to be applied to Asia; and

Whereas it has long been the policy of the American people that no nation should seek to extend its form of government over any other nation or people, but that as an inherent right every people should be left free to determine its own form of government and its own way of life, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid — the little along with the great and the powerful; and

Whereas the traditional policy and desire of the people of the United States of America is now and has been a just and enduring peace; and

Whereas it is never too early for God-fearing and peace-loving peoples to earnestly endeavor to stop needless human slaughter: Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the Senate that the United Nations call upon all nations and all groups now engaged in the war in Korea to cease fire and declare an armistice effective at 4 a.m. (Korean time) June 25, 1951; and that prior thereto the United Nations forces retire to points south and the opposing forces retire to points north of the thirty-eighth parallel; and that before December 31, 1951, all prisoners of the Korean War shall be exchanged and all non-Korean persons, military and non-military (except the ordinary diplomatic representatives), shall depart from North and South Korea.

What is the significance of this strong peace resolution, almost ignored by the U.S. press but prominently featured in Moscow's Pravda? **See page 4.**

The way out of Purgatory

WHEN ALL ARGUMENT seems to fail, in the fields of politics or horse sense, it has been a habit of ours to fall back on that eminent logician of other days, Mr. Dooley.

Confronted with a matter just as upsetting to him at the time as the GUARDIAN's financial predicaments are to us today, Mr. Dooley once remarked:

"'Tis as hard f'r a rich man to enter the Kingdom iv Heaven as it is f'r a poor man to get out of Purgatory."

We of the GUARDIAN have been trying to hike ourselves out of financial Purgatory for quite a spell, now. Rich men, hurrying by on their way to try to crash the pearly gates, sometimes nod to us and cluck sympathetically, but seldom do they pay any more rewarding attention to our plight.

As for the rest—which undoubtedly means you—we must admit that it gets a bit embarrassing after a while, asking for a helping hand every week from folks whose hands are obviously already full.

BUT the helping hand we ask involves very little effort or expense, as we have stressed over and over. We ask you

• To keep your own subscription paid up—and this, at less than 4c a week, can be no great burden.

• To keep the GUARDIAN going among your friends and neighbors who agree with you on most things but who could be helped by a weekly hour with the GUARDIAN.

For example, Sen. Johnson in Washington complains that his resolution calling for an armistice in Korea June 25 has been blacked out in the press, the way most peace news is blacked out.

But the GUARDIAN doesn't black it out: the full text is on p. 1 of this issue. Also the excellent Quaker statement (p. 3), plus a few pungent excerpts from Gen. Bradley's testitony, also buried in the press because they illuminate the insanity of our Asian policy.

WILL YOU DO THIS JOB—NOW? That's all we ask of you. Appoint yourself GUARDIAN subscription agent in your neck of the woods and make sure every progressive you know gets on the subscription list.

And by the way, just as a matter of insurance, if you should see a rich man hurrying by out your way, steer him our way, won't you? Our gates are always ajar. **THE EDITORS**

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THE MAIL BAG

Salt of the earth

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Herewith one dollar toward my "dollar a month" sustaining fund. Please ask 5,000 readers to send you a dollar a month! Would that keep you going? **Martha Van Ausdall**

LOS ANGELES, CAL.

Included is $2 with which I ask you courteously to send a sub to the father of my best girl-friend for his birthday. **A. Bergman**

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Here's a contribution to a fine honest paper which stirs my conscience to a better way for all. **Theresa Fass**

SULLIVAN, IND.

Enclosed find $5 on my pledge. You are making a courageous and patriotic fight for peace and genuine Americanism. **Norval K. Harris**

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

Here are several subscriptions for a wonderful paper. Two of them are from the job I work on, two carpenters who are mighty worried about war. **Gordon Barnes**

CITRUS HEIGHTS, CAL.

Am enclosing $5 to help smother the graft and war aspirations etc. Use it as you see fit. Would like to ask one question: Why is the desire for peace communistic? (Nuts if you ask me). **Reader**

McGee's "equal justice"

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Below the pediment of that marble mausoleum in which the Supreme Court of the United States conducts its august deliberations is the motto (or should I say "legend"):

"EQUAL JUSTICE UNDER LAW"

Some 20 odd years ago, when the new Supreme Court building was dedicated, by a stroke of ironic prescience, there was entombed in a three and a half ton block of Vermont marble a copy of the U.S. Constitution.

Did this copy of the Constitution omit the Eighth Amendment to that document, tacitly absolving the Court of the obligation to carry out its provision relative to "cruel and unusual punishment"?

It would seem logical to draw this conclusion. For in the early hours of May 8, 1951, one of our fellow citizens, a Negro, was done to death in the electric chair at Laurel, Miss. The alleged crime was rape, an offense for which no white man in that state has ever suffered the extreme penalty.

The impact of Willie McGee's death will reach far beyond our domestic confines. The teeming millions of Asia, whose pigmentation would make them second class citizens in this country, will bestow a cynical smile on the dichotomy between President Truman's frequently proclaimed moral exhortations and our practice of them. In deference to the judicial mores of 1951 it might not be inappropriate to replace "Equal justice under law" with "Fiat meridiana Justicia". For in the early hours of May 8, 1951, southern justice did prevail.

Muriel I. Symington

But the Nazis live

MARTINS FERRY, O.

Willie McGee is dead. He was brutally murdered, "according to law," for a crime he could not possibly have committed.

Eighty-nine German war criminals who murdered, by the most inhuman and brutal methods they could devise, hundreds of thousands of innocent and defenseless people, have not been executed for their crimes. Thirty-three have been granted immediate freedom.

George F. Curry

How long?

DENVER, COLO.

This is a contribution on reading today of the death of Willie McGee. Please use it wherever and however you see fit—to help this country—this poor stumbling country—see the light of real brotherhood. At present the darkness seems to be becoming stronger instead of being lifted. How long? O Lord, how long?

Reader

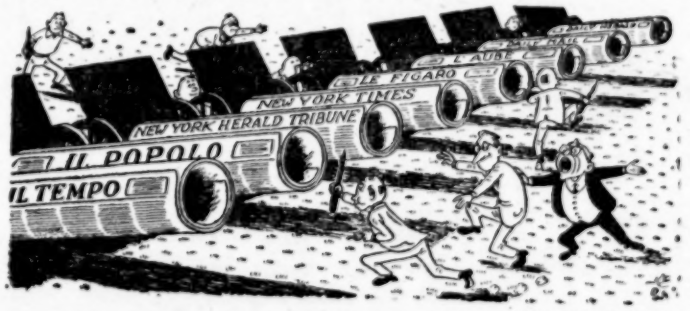
Fine engineering

ROCK ISLAND, ILL.

Last night our group talked over the GUARDIAN's problems and gathered up $12. We are sending it with this letter to help raise the GUARDIAN out of poverty.

The idea of publishing American war prisoners' names is indeed a nefarious project. We hope that your sinister purposes as outlined by the Hearst and Howard scandal sheets will be continued indefinitely. Keep up the "dirty work!"

Calvin Collander, Secretary, Social Engineers, Rock I. Co.



Vie Nuove, Rome

FREE PRESS OF THE FREE WORLD
TRUMAN: "Everyone in position. . . ."

The Wittenbergs depart

HOUSTON, TEX.

We ask you kindly to discontinue to send us the GUARDIAN. This weekend we are going to be deported to our native Germany.

We want to express our gratitude for the solidarity your valuable newspaper has given us during our fight for departure to our homeland and later on during the deportation proceedings.

The GUARDIAN is putting up a wonderful fight for Peace and represents the true feelings of the American people. We are convinced that you are going to keep on. You can be sure that we will try to do our part in Germany.

Steffi & Kurt Wittenberg

The fatal twist

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

There was a fire in the apartment house and in the excitement of dressing, Pat donned his britches hindside foremost. He did not find out his mistake until he reached the sidewalk, when he set up a terrific howl. The fireman rushed over.

Fireman: "What's the matter with you? You're all right."

Pat; "Sez you. Look at me. I'm fatally twisted."

I think Harry Truman is suffering from the same condition.

Name withheld

Self-gobbled

CHARLOTTE, N.C.

Our history books tell us that Benjamin Franklin very nearly prevailed in his attempt to make the turkey gobbler our national emblem. Perhaps Destiny took a hand in this, that Aeschylus' prophecy might be by us the more easily understood:

So in the Libyan fable it is told
That once an eagle, stricken with a dart,
Said, when he saw the fashion of the shaft,
"With our own feathers, not by others' hands
Are we smitten." **A. E. Bassett**

Private corruption

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

So much energy is spent fighting everyday stealing — legalized — in private business, big and small, that there is little left for the fight against it in government. Hardly a day passes that some home in Long Beach is not gypped by real estate sharks, mining deal "con-men," dishonest home builders, car repair outfits, water softeners, etc.

The public is not apathetic or cynical to public corruption as some commentators would have you believe. It is that public corruption seems so small and far-away when you are fighting the private slickers every day.

O. Maish

Roasted humans

VANCOUVER, B.C.

Here are some excerpts from statements by Pierre Berton, articles editor of Maclean's Magazine, after a two-month survey of the war in Korea, as published in the Vancouver Sun. (Berton, incidentally, agrees that "the UN aim to kill Chinese" is "justified.")

"My overall impression has been that this is a terribly futile war. General feeling among the Canadians, British and Americans I saw in Korea was that this is a futile campaign. . ."

"The general [Korean] attitude runs from a vague desire to see us go home and leave them in peace, to outright hatred."

"Napalm—the horrible burning gasoline jelly that roasts people alive. . . is in my opinion the cruelest weapon devised by man."

"A Canadian officer, in regard to his own troops, said: 'Sometimes I think they hate the Yanks more than they hate the Chinese.'"

"One educated Korean said to me: 'You've made beggars of our children, pimps of our men and prostitutes of our women. If that's liberation you can have it.'"

Arthur L. Lourie

The Rosenbergs and RCA

BRISBANE, CALIF.

In connection with the savage sentence of death upon Ethel and Julius Rosenberg for atomic "spying" for Russia (an ally at the time, though you would never suspect it from today's bloodthirsty headlines on the case), when is the government going to bring to trial the heads of the Radio Corp. of America who blandly gave away our greatest military secret to our enemy, Germany?

I refer to Drew Pearson's column of April 12, in which he tells how RCA hired the discoverer of radar, W. D. Herschberger, formerly with the army signal corps, and then proceeded to claim radar patents for RCA and publicly filed its claim in Germany and Japan. Pearson writes:

> **This automatically made the secret available to Hitler and Jap warlords and took place just before the war, at a time when radar was the most priceless military secret we had. The army Signal Corps wanted to prosecute RCA . . . but suddenly [after the war] Gen. Harry C. Ingles, former chief of the Signal Corps, was hired by RCA at $30,000 a year. After that the Signal Corps appeared to get lukewarm. . . .**

As for the A-bomb, it is now being recalled in the press that Truman told Stalin about it at Potsdam at the end of July, 1945, not many days before the first bomb was dropped on Japan. Former Secy. of State Byrnes, who was present, wrote in his **Speaking Frankly** that he was "surprised by Stalin's lack of interest." Quoting this, Vance Johnson in the San Francisco **Chronicle** referring to the Rosenberg case writes:

> **Nearly five years later we are beginning to find out why Stalin may have greeted the President's stupendous announcement with such equanimity.**

The inference is that it was because Stalin knew of the bomb all along, through spies. But the real explanation is contained in this passage from **Behind Closed Doors** by Ret. Rear Adm. Zacharias, former Naval Intelligence deputy-chief (pp. 77-78). Referring to a report by a Polish diplomat in Moscow on Stalin's depressed mood on his return from Potsdam, Zacharias writes:

> **Although he refrained from discussing the subject [the A-bomb] then, feigning studied indifference and disbelief, today we know that he resented deeply allied secrecy maintained around all that concerned the Manhattan Project, [which he thought] should have been developed by all the allies, not merely their Western branch.**
>
> **"Millions of Russian soldiers could have been saved from horrible death," he was quoted as having said [to the Polish diplomat], "had our American allies told us about the A-bomb. They pushed us into one offensive after another. Senseless offensives, now they appear to be. We could have waited behind our strong lines, without marching against the heavily fortified inner lines of Germany, waiting for the atomic bomb to do to Germany what it did to Japan. But no! We were never told of that weapon! Don't you think," he asked, "that there was a calculated design behind all this? Was it not calculated to kill off as many of our soldiers and political workers as possible, preys of the Hitlerite beast? I think it was."**

And Zacharias adds:

> **Stalin's suspicion froze into weary distrust when Soviet application for a U.S. loan, designed to offset the loss of Lend-Lease, "got lost in the State Dept." and when the Dept. of Commerce, "upon explicit instructions from the State Dept.", began to embargo exports to Russia, especially of machine tools and heavy industrial equipment.** **Louise Harding Horr**

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STEPS TO PEACE

A major peace offensive urged by the Quakers

IN 1660 the Quakers (Society of Friends) took a stand:

> We utterly deny all outward wars and strife and fighting with outward weapons, for any end or under any pretense whatever; this is our testimony to the whole world.

Quakers are not bound to follow this precept to the letter—each is to be guided by his own conscience—but many still do. Last week in Iowa three young Quakers faced second prison sentences for refusing to register for the draft.

Essence of the Friends' faith—direct revelation of divine truth—rules out ceremonies, symbols, churchly hierarchies and theological polemics in favor of religion in action. Primarily concerned with morality, they insist on coming to grips with the concrete forces by which morality is molded. On this action level the American Friends Service Committee began 18 months ago a quest for alternatives to World War III, with publication of a report on relations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Last week they were distributing a new report: a 64-page booklet entitled **Steps to Peace, A Quaker View of U.S. Foreign Policy.**

"MEET EVIL HEAD-ON": The report was prepared by a "working party" of 15, drawing on the experience of Quakers with 30 years of foreign service in some 25 countries. In justification of their effort to contribute to solution of the concrete issues while other organized religious bodies remain silent, they wrote:

> "The Quakers mean well," people will say, "but they don't recognize the nature of the evil which the world faces." We believe we do recognize the nature of the evil we face. We have been out in the troubled places of the world trying to meet evil head-on, and we have found that reconciliation is possible in most unpromising situations. . . . In the clamor and clash of a hating world, people are forgetting moral values, which are as relevant today as they were in Jesus' time. But even on pragmatic grounds, we reject the concept that peace can emerge from an arms race, or that problems can be solved by dropping A-bombs . . . [The answer] is not an answer which calls for peace at any price. It calls for peace at a very high price.

NEGOTIATE WITH CHINA: The study calls for a right-about-face in present policy which is moving us "not toward peace but toward disaster." It asks, and answers negatively, these questions:

> Is our policy winning for us the friendship and confidence of other peoples and nations? Is it advancing the cause of freedom and human welfare? Does it give promise of providing us with a measure of the security we seek?

For a start, the report calls for negotiations with the Chinese People's Republic to end the war in Korea:

> Basically, China wants the recognition of the world as an equal among neighbors; negotiation can restore the mutual respect and mutual security which the use of force has destroyed. Specifically, China wants admission to the UN, control over Formosa (considered by Chinese more a part of China than Hawaii is of the U.S.), and a Korean settlement that will not leave in power a regime hostile to the [Chinese] revolution. None of these desires would jeopardise any legitimate American objective.

MEDIATE AND DISARM: For their long-range perspectives, the Quakers concentrate on four major steps:

- Reliance on negotiation instead of force to settle world problems.
- Development of the UN as an instrument of mediation by four immediate measures: 1) Move immediately to admit all applicants willing to accept the responsibilities of membership; 2) Avoid exerting pressure on other countries to accept the position being taken by the U.S. government; 3) Renew efforts to settle the Korean conflict by negotiation; 4) Emphasize and develop the Security Council and General Assembly in their peace-making functions.
- Effective disarmament. The report recalls that

> . . . five years ago the Soviet Union agreed to an internationally-verified inventory of all armed forces, at home and abroad, as a basis for starting general disarmament. This position has never been repudiated.

- Finally, development of large-scale world programs of mutual aid.

LONGING FOR LEADERSHIP: Adoption of their recommended measures, the Quakers say,

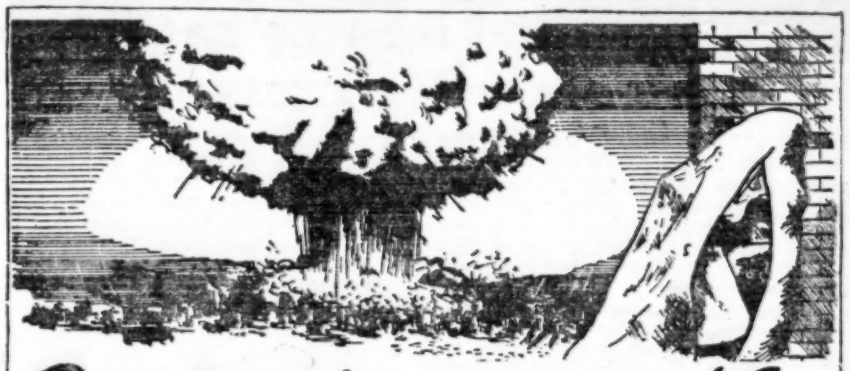
> . . . puts us squarely in favor of a major peace offensive and makes clear our willingness to sacrifice and accept the risks that inevitably accompany a bold and uncharted step. The world longs for this kind of moral leadership from America, and we cannot afford to leave anyone in doubt what we stand for.

Leaving the final emphasis upon the young people who will have so much responsibility for any conciliation effort, the report concludes confidently:

> On every hand and in many countries, one sees youth anxious to throw itself into something creative. Instead, confused in mind, and with lagging footsteps, it is being conscripted for training in artless destruction. But there is every evidence that given an opportunity, the youth of today would rise with the same dedication and willingness to sacrifice that has always marked its reaction to a bold and daring challenge.

●

The editors of the GUARDIAN urge every progressive in America, especially young progressives, to read "Steps to Peace" and bring it as forcefully as possible to the attention of local church, fraternal, youth and other groups. Copies (25c) obtainable from American Friends Service Committee, 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.



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Get your Atomicape while you last

This crisp bit of sales talk is part of a full page ad that appeared in a recent Los Angeles Times. The Atomicape ("You may never need it—but tomorrow may be too late") is easy to use. You can put it on in ten seconds after the atomic burst. Or would you rather take shelter in an insane asylum now?

Behind the press blackout on the Big 4 Talks

For 11 weeks Big Four deputies have been discussing in Paris an agenda for a foreign ministers' conference, initiative for which was taken by Moscow in requesting last October a discussion of the demilitarization and unification of Germany. Seldom, if ever, have major international talks—on whose success or failure humanity's future depends—been so obscured and distorted by the U.S. press. While the U.S.S.R.'s Gromyko was painted in the U.S. as blocking agreement, such conservative observers as France's "Pertinax" and London's Economist *and* Spectator *have accused not Moscow but Washington of blocking it.*

To set the record partially straight the GUARDIAN excerpts below from Gromyko's unreported speech on May 10 (the 48th deputies' meeting) reviewing the issues dividing East and West from the Soviet viewpoint. Describing the West's three alternative agenda proposals of May 2 as all calculated either to prevent consideration of disarmament or "to reduce its significance to naught," Gromyko said:

ANDREI GROMYKO
First one sets the aim

"THE attitude toward the question of reduction of armaments and armed forces of the Four Powers is of great significance for the characterization of the general policy of countries—participants in this conference. The course of this conference has again clearly confirmed the existence of two policies.

"One sets itself the aim of strengthening peace among peoples and developing political and economic relations among them despite the difference in existing social systems. This policy is directed toward developing large-scale peaceful civilian construction and ensuring the progress of the entire national economy of the country, with the aim of raising the standard of living of its population, systematically reducing prices, raising wages, increasing the population's consumption, developing culture, public education and health protection. To put into effect such a policy it is necessary that state funds are allocated for peaceful construction and improvement of the life of the people, that there should be no armaments drive. . . .

"[The other policy] is directed toward the development of war industry, curtailment of civilian industry, knocking together of military political blocs, establishment of military, naval and air bases on the territory of other states. . . . Such a policy leads to curtailment of state appropriations for peaceful economic and cultural requirements and to their switching over to preparation of another war . . . to an increase in taxes of the population, rise in prices of consumer goods, lowering of wages and incomes of working people, accompanied by the simultaneous increase in super-profits of industrialist merchants of arms. . . .

"Such a policy is effected by the governments of the U.S., Britain and France, and has found expression in the negative stand taken by their representatives at our conference on the reduction of armaments. . . ."

GROMYKO insisted that immediate arms reduction would relax existing tensions, strengthen peace, lay a basis for improving relations, lift the burden of armaments from the people's shoulders. The U.S.S.R., he said, had first proposed the ministers consider immediate arms reduction; then modified this proposal to meet Western objections that it was too radical and should be included in a general discussion of the causes of tension. The West then proposed a new draft which called for discussion of "levels of armaments" rather than disarmament. The U.S.S.R. again modified its position to include "levels of armaments" and international control. The West raised new objections, stating openly they intended to continue their arms drive.

The West was trying to "deceive world public opinion. Three Powers desire to repeat the sad experience of the League of Nations. But the people of the world remember how disarmament was sabotaged in the League and also that later the U.S., Britain and France thwarted fulfillment of the UN General Assembly resolution of Dec. 14, 1946, calling for reduction of arms.

"In order to weaken in the eyes of the public the magnetic force of the simple and clear Soviet proposal on arms reduction," the Western governments had "piled up false arguments" stating that their arms drive "is dictated by the powerful armaments of the U.S.S.R." These arguments had been refuted in Stalin's recent statement pointing to Soviet demobilization after 1945 and large-scale development of peaceful construction; they were also "exposed by the fact that . . . the U.S.S.R. has assumed the initiative concerning reduction of its own armaments and armed forces."

NO evidence, he said, had been presented of alleged rearmament in Eastern Europe. The U.S.S.R. also wanted on the agenda the Atlantic Pact and U.S. bases abroad. Since these were openly aimed at the Soviet Union, no objective person could deny the importance of their consideration to improving relations among the powers. But the U.S.S.R. had made concessions on this point, too.

Gromyko then proposed that arms reduction and the Atlantic Pact and bases be submitted to the foreign ministers as "disagreed" items (that is in both Soviet and Western wording) and that if this were done, the U.S.S.R. would agree to Agenda B proposed by the West on May 2.

The West has so far refused to agree to this proposal.

WAR & PEACE

End-the-war resolution stirs hope despite press boycott

TO EVERY CORNER of the U.S. wire services carried Sen. Johnson's resolution to end the Korean war (see p. 1). Most papers ignored or buried it. The Democratic Senator, a maverick conservative, has often balked at Administration foreign policy. He told GUARDIAN's John B. Stone:

> "I was amazed at the cold—I wouldn't say cold, but strange reception. It certainly has the stamp of premeditated effort to keep news of the resolution away from the people. [The resolution is not a result of the work] of any organizations as such. But I am personally convinced it represents the feeling of a vast majority of people in the country. That's my own guess based on letters and telegrams received and what I know about people."

Despite the "premeditated" silence, telegrams of support began flowing in at the week-end. Elmer Benson and C. B. Baldwin, chairman and secy. of the Progressive Party, called on the President to take immediate steps to enact the resolution and on the people to write Johnson and the President. The American Peace Crusade asked a Senate Committee hearing.

GHOSTS IN WALL ST.: The resolution was launched in a Washington swept by peace rumors, following Presidential Adviser Harriman's statement that the war might end "next week, the week after, in a month or two months." The "peace scare" hit Wall St., sending shares down as much as $5. **Newsweek** reported Soviet UN delegate Malik had approached the U.S.'s Austin for a new try at a Korean settlement. **AP** quoted "informed diplomats" in London as saying Moscow had "informally suggested" to Washington new talks on a Far East settlement, and that "initial U.S. reaction was cool." **UP** said Moscow observers thought "the time may be auspicious to seek a settlement."

In New York India's Sir Benegal Rau appealed to the UN General Assembly to end the war on the 38th Parallel, recalling Gen. Ridgway's statement that this would be a "tremendous victory." Rau's appeal—inspired, he said, by Johnson's resolution—provoked excitement at UN, showing how starved delegates are for a peace settlement (and how meek and unimaginative in not trying). Other delegations sought conferences with him about it. UN's first regular report from Ridgway said the UN Command was stressing in its propaganda its desire for settlement.

"UNUSUAL FIRMNESS": But all week Washington denied hopes for peace. Secy. Acheson knew of no "peace feelers." The State Dept. denied "with unusual firmness" (N.Y. **Times**) that Moscow had proposed new talks. Washington's words and deeds suggested intensification rather than settlement of the war:

- It pushed through an apathetic General Assembly, 47-0, its arms em-

bargo against China and North Korea. (The Soviet bloc did not participate because the Charter gives the Security Council alone authority to vote sanctions. The Arab-Asian bloc split, seven abstaining and five voting for the embargo—a split not unrelated, UN observers said, to the Security Council condemnation of Israel, at U.S. instigation, next day.)
- It formally rejected the Soviet proposal for a four-power conference on the Japanese peace treaty as a plan "conniving at aggression": it wanted no "guidance [on the treaty] from a convicted aggressor" [China]. Tokyo occupation authorities announced a 13-point economic program tieing Japanese economy even more closely to the U.S.
- Defense Secy. Marshall, completing 200,000 words of testimony before the Senate committees, reiterated (as the N.Y. **Daily Mirror** put it) that "MacArthur lacks judgment and wants a war but we are now pursuing MacArthur's program." Asst. Secy. of State for the Far East Dean Rusk told the China Institute, spearhead of the powerful China lobby, in New York that the U.S. would not treat with China in the UN or elsewhere since it is "a colonial Russian government"; promised more aid to Chiang Kai-shek; strongly hinted at U.S. support for a Chiang invasion of the mainland. Maj. Gen. Chase, chief of the U.S. military mission to Chiang, predicted "integration" of U.S. military personnel into Chiang's forces. In a press interview, Chiang offered to invade the mainland as a means of ending the Korean war.
- Singapore reports said the U.S. was building up Thailand as a war base against China. **AP** from Washington reported the Burmese government had appealed for diplomatic help in getting rid of armed Chinese Nationalist troops within its borders, supplied by "a steady flow of arms smuggled . . . from Thailand." A U.S.-Franco-British military conference in Singapore (the first time, noted the N.Y. **Times**, the U.S. has conferred formally with Southeast Asia powers) decided to step up the war in Indo-China. The U.S. denied reports it was planning air bases in Malaya.

A NEW KIND OF WARRIOR
Chinese volunteers help Korean villagers with their threshing.

BRADLEY'S REALISM: The only basis for believing Washington might be nearing readiness for a Korean settlement came in the Senate committees testimony of Joint Chiefs Chairman Gen. Omar Bradley, who more clearly than Marshall admitted the hopelessness of the adventure:

> "Taking on Red China is not a decisive move, does not guarantee the end of the war in Korea, and may not bring China to her knees. . . . My own feeling is to avoid such an engagement if possible because victory in Korea would not be assured and victory over Red China would be many years away. We believe every effort should be made to settle the present conflict without extending it outside Korea. If this proves to be impossible, then other measures may have to be taken."

Bradley equally emphasized that the "present program" in Korea could not bring victory:

> "I don't believe anyone is going to promise you or the country that we are going to get decisive results under what we are doing. All I can say is that the Joint Chiefs do not feel you would come much nearer in getting those decisive results by extending the war into China. . . ."

With a long record of skepticism about the pervading "victory through air power" and "push-button war" illusions, Bradley added a note of military sanity to the marathon hearings. Even what censorship allowed to be printed of his testimony seemed to leave Administration and MacArthur policies exposed in equally naked bankruptcy. The necessity for Americans, regardless of politics, to end the slaughter in Korea was never more clear.

CHICAGO

Peace crusade is on the march

"SIGN now—or forever lose the peace." That was the message on a sandwich board of a Peace Crusader at Chicago's North Av. and Logan Sq. last week.

Other Crusaders passed out petitions, leaflets, "peace bonds" and ballots. Campaigners seeking a forum for the peace message planned a dinner-symposium on "Which Way to Peace?" June 1, 8 p.m., in the Hamilton Hotel Grand Ballroom. Dr. Robert Morss Lovett, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Prof. Philip Morrison of Cornell are to speak.

All efforts are designed to rally people for the National Peace Congress at the Coliseum June 20-July 1 sponsored by the American Peace Crusade. Some 1,500 delegates from all over the U.S. are expected; Chicagoans who can offer billets have been asked to phone Franklin 2-3392.

The Congress plans not only talkfests but also athletic meets, poetry, prose, poster and song contests.

BROYLES-McCLINTOCK FIGHT: Chicago progressives conferred with Civil Rights Congress representatives on fighting the legislative offensive being mounted in Springfield. They organized delegations to testify before the Illinois House Armed Services Committee against the Broyles and McClintock Bills; urged groups to wire Rep. Harry W. McClintock requesting time at the next hearing; planned a mass-rally in Springfield to protest the legislation.

Progressives were heartened by two civil liberties developments: (1) the Chicago Bar Assn. came out against the Broyles Bills; (2) the Illinois House voted down an American Legion proposal to set up a "seditious activities" committee, similar to the Broyles Commission which in 1949 hunted witches at the University of Chicago and out of which came the present Broyles Bills.

WORKING TOGETHER: The exec. committee of the Chicago Committee for Labor Unity (representing United Electrical, Fur, Distributive, Processing & Office, Mine-Mill, Longshoremen & Warehousemen and Public Workers) met to plan the program against the price-tax squeeze. It will be formally presented to the CCLU council May 28 at UE Hall, later at a city-wide rally.

COST OF LIVING

New meat rollback reduces prices up

NEITHER butchers, customers nor restaurant owners could decipher the text of the Office of Price Stabilization's meat order published May 13. But by the middle of last week price tags made it clear:

By rezoning the carcass of cattle, selling formerly inexpensive parts in new "fabricated cuts," wholesalers had jacked meat prices up 12c a pound.

Retailers, not permitted to pass on the 12c rise in all items, could still boost these prices under the new ceilings: plate beef (bone in) from 25c to 40c; short ribs, 39c to 50c; boneless fresh cured brisket, 69c to 97c.

BE A STABILIZER: Restaurant keepers, permitted to raise the bill as high as the wholesalers raised theirs, ran into stabilizers far tougher than OPS. These were the customers who refused to buy. One big Broadway restaurant (steak dinners, $1.50) raised the price to $2 and sold three such dinners in a busy night last week. The owner complained:

> "They think I'm profiteering now when I give it away at $2. . . . To sell a steak dinner at a profit I'd have to charge $4."

Shoppers were stabilizing prices at butcher shops too. New York's meatless week, organized by tenants' councils in all boroughs, got under way with petitions, leaflets and a boycott. Similar meatless weeks were under way or planned in Los Angeles, Chicago and elsewhere.

Butchers and boycotters joined forces in many places. The small retailer was in a squeeze and looked to the housewife for help.

FEET FIRST: The big packers were also demanding tie-in sales. One Brooklyn butcher complained that to get 10 pounds of liver he had to take 25 pounds of feet. Refusal to play ball meant no meat at all. He explained:

> "Three years ago I sent back a load of lamb—and I couldn't get lamb from the wholesaler again for two years. . . . You want to know the answer? Let the women go out on strike—all of them—and the price will go down."

The N.Y. **Times** reported:

> When special agents went out to get evidence they found the smaller butchers too terrorized to make a formal complaint. All were convinced they would be driven from the industry if they gave testimony.

WORSE TO COME: Meanwhile big cattle raisers were chafing at the principle of control and threatening a strike of their own to keep beef off the market and boost prices still higher. Stabilizers in Washington on the one hand promised some roll-back by October; on the other they warned that inflationary pressures were just beginning to be felt, would really grow serious in the fall as arms orders took effect.

The best hope for stability lay in the power of the shoppers.

DO YOU AGREE?

If you agree with Sen. Johnson's resolution, write and tell him so: Sen. Edwin C. Johnson, Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.

LABOR

Mine-Mill scores; CIO's face red

A FOLDER featuring photos of Lenin, Stalin and U.S. Communist Party leaders in handcuffs was distributed in Great Falls, Mont., by the C.O United Steelworkers. The text linked the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union to communism, called upon workers to vote CIO at the NLRB elections at Anaconda Copper Co. Radio programs and newspaper ads pounded the same theme.

On May 7 Great Falls workers voted 734 for Mine-Mill, 287 for CIO. Mine-Mill on May 4 beat off another CIO Steelworkers raid at the American Smelting and Refining plant, Tacoma, Wash., 775 to 154. At E. Helena, Mont., on May 9 Mine-Mill won 186-67. At Anaconda, Mont., on May 10, the Steel petition was thrown out by the NLRB for lack of proof.

ANYONE CAN BE RED: Along with the steelworkers, the CIO United Auto Workers has raided and purged in the name of anti-communism. But last week UAW was called "red" and defeated in a labor board election. UAW had signed up 1,200 of the 1,500 workers at Los Angeles Grand Central Air Terminal. Just before the NLRB vote, the company took large ads in local papers hailing MacArthur, denouncing "socialist Britain" and calling for "defeat of

Drawing by Fred Wright

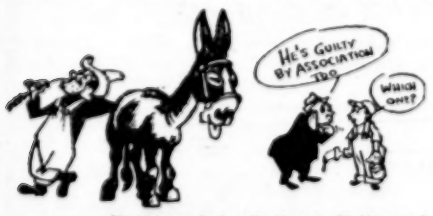
the reds at home in the UAW." The workers voted 2½ to 1 for "no union."

PIGEONS ROOSTING: Other CIO pigeons came home to roost. Last year CIO in an anti-communist crusade helped break the nine-month strike of leather workers at Gloversville, N.Y. Last week tannery workers of A. C. Lawrence Co., Peabody, Mass.—largest leather plant in the world—voted overwhelmingly for the much red-baited Intl. Fur & Leather Workers Union. The score: IFLWU, 837; CIO, 35; continuation of the unaffiliated union existing at the plant, 270.

CIO's Intl. Union of Electrical Workers (organized to kill the United Electrical Workers) was challenged at the scene of its first triumph, the Westinghouse plant in East Pittsburgh, when UE petitioned NLRB for an election. At Emerson Radio's New York and New Jersey plants CIO-IUE scored a victory. Vote: IUE, 1,211; UE 739; no union, 30.

SCHOOLS vs. TEACHERS: New York school teachers were told by the State Education Dept. last week that the Board of Education could require teachers to work at any job in or out of school hours, morning, noon or night.

For a year all city teachers, members of widely differing organizations, have refused after-hours work in protest against low wages. The conservative Teachers Guild called the new ruling a "vicious and unjustified monkey-wrench" which has lowered still further "an all-time low morale among



Painters Info. Bulletin, Hollywood

teachers." Raymond F. Halloran, president of the High School Teachers Assn., said the after-hours stoppage will continue until "city officials show a real interest" in teachers' grievances. Teachers Union officials said that if the ruling were put in force, it might "provoke a cessation not merely of after-school but of all school activities."

As the Board met last week to implement the ruling, one member predicted that "stubborn" teachers who continued to refuse extra services would be charged with insubordination. The Board is already weighing such charges against Washington Irving High School teacher Norman London, who refused to take pupils to the MacArthur parade.

FREEDOMS

THE TRENTON CASE

3 defendants say cops doped them

WITH their lives at stake, three of the Trenton Six sought last week from the witness stand to convince 14 middle-class, white jurors that some 30 white police officers perjured themselves in testifying the Negro defendants freely confessed to a murder three years ago.

They were:

COLLIS ENGLISH, 23 when arrested, one of 14 children whom his mother supported, frail and repeatedly sick since childhood, World War II veteran receiving a Navy pension for a heart condition.

RALPH COOPER, 23 when arrested, raised by grandparents in a Georgia sharecropper's cabin (never saw his father, last saw mother in 1935), sixth grade schooling, went to work at 14, arrested seven months after he came North.

McKINLEY FORREST, 38, Georgia-born and raised, 1st grade schooling (cannot read or write).

"NOBODY WOULD LISTEN": English testified he was helping his mother wash clothes the morning of the crime, left the house only for 15 minutes to shop and cash at the grocer's his "52-20 Club" vet's unemployment check which arrived at 10:30. He repeatedly "tried to tell [police] I wasn't there but nobody would listen to me at all." "Sick, confused and scared" after 100 hours of almost continual questioning, he signed a "confession" "to get those police to leave me alone" after they said they would let him out in a few days if he signed.

Cooper said that throughout the morning of the crime he was inside his girl friend's house with her and her mother in the presence of several boarders. Two days after his arrest, Detective Chief Naples brought him paper and pencil and said: "You better write what I say or it won't be good for you." He smoked a cigarette brought by a clerk with a sandwich and coffee, began to feel "sleepy and druggish," remembered nothing else until he came to in the county jail four days later.

Judge Smalley, who had ruled inadmissible a second "confession" signed by Cooper after a Negro police doctor testified Cooper was under the influence of marijuana, refused defense attorney Pellettieri's request that he inform the jury as to his findings on the other "confession."

JUST A QUESTION MARK: Forrest said he was working in two Jewish slaughterhouses the morning of the crime. Two days after his arrest he was confronted with English (his brother-in-law) and Cooper (whom he had never seen). English, "looking crazy," told the police Forrest "hit the old man with a bottle." Forrest, who never heard of the murder before, asked English incredulously:

"I hit the old man over the head with a bottle? Boy, are you crazy? I didn't hit anybody!"

These exact words appear in Forrest's written "confession"—except for deletion of the question mark and the second sentence, and substitution in the third of "kill" for "hit."

Chief Naples had brought him water with a white pill melting at the bottom of the cup, Forrest said. After he drank, "everything went dark" and he remembered nothing else for five days.

World revolted by McGee horror

FROM all around the world protests against the Mississippi execution of Willie McGee poured into Washington. When the news reached the annual Conference of Electrical Trade Unions in session in London, delegates representing 190,000 members stood in silent tribute to him. The French press from Left to Right expressed amazement that Washington could flaunt its jim-crow justice in the face of the world reaction against it. Even the right-wing Socialist **Populaire**, financed partly with U.S. funds, said McGee's death "revolts the conscience of humanity." In Sweden 5,000 persons signed a protest to President Truman.

In Detroit 250 persons marched down the main street for a memorial service before a statue of Sojourner Truth in front of City Hall. Other memorials were held from Brooklyn to Seattle.

THE FATAL TRUTH: For six years Willie McGee had been prevented from telling the truth of his case—that he had been forced involuntarily into a relationship with the white woman who eventually cried "rape" to save himself. But on the day of his death it became known to Mississippians: the Jackson **Daily News** printed it in full as McGee told it to reporters a few hours before his death. He explained why it had not been told before:

"I did not have the chance to state to the courts my case for the simple reason that my attorneys were afraid to bring these things out."

The truth itself was a death warrant in Mississippi. As the Little Rock, Ark., **State Press**, a fighting Negro newspaper, put it:

On the other hand McGee was guilty. . . . Guilty of a crime that he is not responsible for, cannot atone. A crime that he has paid for and 15,000,000 others are paying for daily. His crime in America carries a penalty where there is no pardon or commutation — not even the slightest chance for an escape. The only punishment that satisfies American justice is segregation, discrimination, persecution and death. . . . Willie McGee was born a Negro.

STRANGE "INTERVIEW": Not all Negro newspapers were as forthright. The Pittsburgh **Courier** featured an "interview" with the international star Josephine Baker—who was with Mrs. McGee to the end—in which it quoted her as charging the Civil Rights Congress with "swindling" McGee funds and describing CRC representatives as "vicious." To this Miss Baker replied from Boston:

"The statement attributed to me . . . charging misuse of funds collected for the defense of Willie McGee is completely erroneous. I have never charged a swindle by anyone of monies obtained to further McGee's defense. I deny categorically describing any person who aided McGee as vicious. Further I am shocked at the violent mis-quotations in the entire story."

McCarran 'travesty' grinds onward

THE "ritual performance" (Washington **Post**) of hearings before the Subversive Activities Control Board (set up by the McCarran Act), seeking to make the Communist Party register its membership as an agency of a foreign power, was resumed in Washington. Twice the three-man panel has denied motions to defer the hearings until its members are confirmed by the Senate. The defense's argument: lacking confirmation (held up by Sen. McCarran's Judiciary Committee), the panel cannot conduct fair and impartial hearings; should they offend Sen. McCarran they risk losing their posts. Commented the Washington **Post**:

It would be a travesty . . . to have decisions rendered by judges who are themselves in the process of being judged.

The argument was emphasized when the government's first witness, ex-CP leader Benjamin Gitlow, admitted he has regularly been reporting on panel members' conduct to Sen. McCarran's chief investigator and has conferred with other government witnesses (hearing rules provide for "separation of witnesses"). Panel chairman Charles LaFollette was dismayed at the admissions. The government attorney advised Gitlow to stop the practice.

The panel refused to sign subpenas prepared by attorney Vito Marcantonio for documents and memoranda prepared for the FBI by Gitlow, on which the government is basing much of its case. It accepted as evidence a 1924 CP resolution advocating U.S. recognition of the U.S.S.R.; ruled out evidence that the late senators Norris, Borah and Johnson and other leading Americans also favored recognition in that year.

THE OPPOSITION: During the week three more prominent citizens became active members of the Natl. Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act: Edward S. Lewis, director of the Urban League of Greater N.Y.; Prof. Robert S. Lynd, Columbia University Dept. of Sociology; and Prof. Arthur L. Swift, Jr., Union Theological Seminary. The committee opened offices at 2 Stone St., N. Y. C. 4.

MURDER BY DEPORTATION: On the deportation front of the McCarran Act, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born began a desperate nationwide campaign to save Peter Harisiades, long-time anti-fascist, from deportation to Greece where he faces a death sentence. At special hearings on the charges that he faces physical persecution if deported, Harisiades' lawyers presented evidence of 50,000 anti-fascist concentration camp inmates in Greece and more than 8,000 executions.

PETER HARISIADES
A time to protest

The Committee (23 W. 26th St., N.Y. 10) appealed for protests to Atty. Gen. McGrath, citing the Greek Parliament's Extraordinary Decree of 1946 providing life imprisonment, exile or death for all suspected of opposing the regime.

FOOTNOTE: Sen. McCarran himself announced his committee would investigate the connection between Communist Party and State Dept. criticisms of Gen. MacArthur. They "paralleled" each other, he said.

New list of GI's reported prisoners of war in Korea

NATIONAL GUARDIAN has received the names and details below through the cooperation of the "China Monthly Review," edited by U.S.-born John W. Powell in Shanghai. The list has been appearing alphabetically in the columns of the GUARDIAN beginning with our April 18 issue. If you want us to check the full list for any name, call, write or wire us. In order to avoid any misinterpretation, we repeat our explanation of April 18: this is an unofficial and partial list of names compiled from Chinese sources and containing only names of individuals reported by the Chinese to have signed appeals for peace in POW camps or to have given statements or messages to Chinese correspondents or representatives. Since only a very small percentage of POW's can have had the opportunity to send messages or sign statements or would have done so, the failure of any name to appear on this list must not be given undue significance.

Allen, Sgt. Ellis E.
Arpke, Cpl. Roy L., mother Mrs. L. D. Kalk, Arpke Kennels, Route 3, Sheboygan, Wis.
Artesoni, Sgt. Richard T., family 39 Seattle St., Allstone 34, Boston, Mass.
Bacote, Sgt. Jos. D.
Bagwell, Sgt. Jos., 824 11th St., Bowling Green, Ky.
Behinger, Russel, 473 Sonoma Blvd., Gainfort, Vallejo, Calif.
Bird, Sgt. Percy
Black, Sgt. Joe
Blackbird, Sgt. Geo., Harlem, Mont.
Campbell, Pfc. Gene, R. A. 13337664, parents: Landisburg, W. Va.
Clerk, Pvt. Jas., RFD 1, Mingo, Iowa
Cloud, Sgt. Donald G. R.A. 38781945, wife, 718 N. Main, Blacksburg, Va.
Cook, Pfc. Jessie B., R.A. 1474243; Louise Cook, Somerville, Ala.
Copeland, Cpl. Harry C., R.A. 16313975; Editor, Evening Press, High St., Muncie, Ind.
Corney, Sgt. Samuel
Cotton, Pvt. Donell Adams, Route 1, Wood, Ala.
Crowford, Sgt. Norman
Del Bosque, Cpl. Aniceto Jr., Mrs. Pas Del Bosque, Box 851, Kingsville, Tex.
Donovan, Cpl. Lawrence, R.A. 13309915, sister Betty, 209 Washington Av., Bridgeville, Pa.
Fedenets, Cpl. A., 25 Jefferson St., Uniontown, Pa.
Fulk, Pvt. James, R.D. 1, Brazil, Ind.
Funchess, Lt. Wm. H. Jr., 0-956203, parents R.F.D. 1, Rowesville, S. C.
Gave, Sgt. Carl
Gonzalez, Cpl. Reinol L., mother Josephine, 163 E. 123 St., N.Y.C.
Green, Cpl. Jos. A. Jr., Mrs. Eugenia 792 18th St., Los Angeles 51, Calif.
Grenier, Dick, 1st Cav.; mother, Ring St., Howland, Me.
Halsey, Pfc. Dailey C., mother, R.F.D. 3, Centerville, Pa.
Hampton, Sgt. Larney
Haren, Sgt. Cabacar
Hing, Sgt. John C.
Holmes, Cpl. Roxie Jr., Box 212 Evarts, Ky.
Jackson, Sgt. John W.
Johnson, Pvt. Edward, 6 Spruce St., Ben Avon, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Johnson, Pvt. Wm., Box 295, Bellefonte, Pa.
Jones, Pvt. Orville, Box 282, Werts Av., Charleston, W. Va.
Lolinsky, Pvt. Walter, R.D. 3, Bloomsburg, Pa.
Mathews, Cpl. Elbert, 43 Henry St., Shreveport, La.
McCollum, Sgt. W. A.S.N. 34025503, Box 45, Oakdale, La.
McNeil, Sgt. Richmond
Minter, Sgt. Donald L.
Moore, Johnnie, Mrs. John W. Moore, P.O. Box 1339, McFarland, Calif.
Patterson, Sgt Jos.
Patton, Pfc. Chas. F., 8th Cav., mother Mrs. Willie Patton, Route 3, Box 628, E. Bessemer, Ala.

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3. Hemstitched borders, 8 napkins, cream	54x80	20.00	14.50
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7. As No. 5. 6 napkins	54x54	17.50	11.00
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8. Fine Cotton. Hand-embroidered ecru or white, 12 napkins	72x108	30.00	23.75
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CALENDAR

NEW YORK

JOIN VOLUNTEER NIGHT, Thursday, May 31, to help send out Committee's timely material on important areas in Far East. During work intermission hear talk on U.S. anti-imperialist traditions. Come anytime from 7-11. Room 329, 80 E. 11th St. Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

LIVELY HOLIDAY WEEKEND WITH ASP. 65 miles from N.Y. June 1-3. $25 includes transportation, meals, accommodations and entertainment. For further information, phone MU 7-2161. ASP, 49 W. 44th St., N.Y.C.

Boston

CONCERT BY PAUL ROBESON, baritone, and **LAWRENCE BROWN,** accompanist, Saturday, June 2, 8 p.m. Otisfield Hall, 17 Otisfield St., Roxbury. Admission: $1.20. Sponsored by FREEDOM (Natl. Negro Newspaper).

4TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE MASS. PROGRESSIVE PARTY, Sunday, May 27, Paul Revere Hall (Mechanics Bldg.), 111 Huntington Av., Boston. Registration begins 10 a.m. Address by C. B. Baldwin. Convention fee: $1. All welcome. IN THE EVENING AT 8 P.M. AT THE SAME PLACE. A "PEACE CAN BE WON" RALLY. Hear Shirley Graham, noted Negro peace leader and writer. Admission: 60c. Everyone welcome.

Cambridge, Mass.

CONCERT BY PAUL ROBESON, baritone, and **LAWRENCE BROWN,** accompanist, Sunday, June 3, 8 p.m., Bartholomew Parish Hall, 239 Harvard St. (near Central Sq.), Cambridge. Adm.: $1.20. Sponsored by FREEDOM (Natl. Negro Newspaper).

Chicago

ASP PRESENTS May 26 at 8 p.m. a GALA FESTIVAL OF MUSIC with 10 top-notch musicians in an amazing program. MOZART'S MUSICAL JOKE, a LOEILLET trio, SONGS of the AUVERGNE, four-hand piano works, plus many more. Refreshments served during intermissions. Adm. 75c and $1 plus tax. SUNDAY, May 27, THE NEW GULLIVER, biting Russian satire with 3,000 puppets. 3 & 8 p.m. Mat. 25c for children, 50c and 75c. Eve. 75c and $1 plus tax. ASP CENTER, 946 N. Clark St.

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Abba Leifer, Conductor
37th Jubilee Concert
Orchestra Hall
May 27, Sunday, 2:30 p.m.
Chicago Premiere: "Di Naye Hagode"
"On A Note Of Triumph"
Ballet—Sadia Gerrard—13 Dancers
Narrator: Jose Borcia

COME ONE—COME ALL, MAY 26! Hear Lucy Balcher, violinist (St. Louis Symphony Orch.), play and Roslyn Harvey in dramatic readings. Smorgasbord supper included. $1. Home of Mr. & Mrs. I. Steinberg, 1234 Albion Av. Aus. 49th Ward PP.

ATTEND SHOWING OF TWO excellent films on child psychology: "Children's Emotions" and "Emergence of Personality." Discussion and refreshments. $1. Sat. eve., June 2, at 3236 Balmoral. 40th Ward PP.

YOU ARE INVITED TO MEET: Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Dr. Philip Morrison, at a Reception on Friday evening, June 1, 8 p.m., in the Grand Ballroom of the Hamilton Hotel, 20 So. Dearborn. Refreshments. Don.: $1.

NORTHSIDERS – SOUTHSIDERS; Win a prize at Bill's Party, June 9. Fill in last line of limerick below, send in together with this ad to be eligible to Progressive Party, 156 W. Washington St.:

Said a Handsome Young Miller
named Bill:
"These tasks that I have to
fulfill
Are making me gray—
I wish that some day

Band, Dancing, Stage Show Mc'd by Oscar Brown Jr., at gigantic Dance-Party for Bill Miller, People's Auditorium, 2457 W. Chicago. Admission: $1.

Kansas City, Missouri

HEAR ARTHUR KAHN SPEAK on what's happening in W. Germany. Are the Nazis back? Tues. eve., May 29, 8 p.m., at 1 West Linwood, Kansas City. Sponsors: K.C. Peace Committee, Box 1025.

California

PEACE FESTIVAL — JUNE 1, 2, 3, Berkeley, Oakland, San Francisco. Original music, dance, art: Fri. eve. Earl Robinson, Sat. eve. Dinner 5:30. Choral groups. Conferences: Sun. aft. Paul Jarrico, Hollywood. Public meeting: Sun. eve. Rockridge Woman's Club, 5682 Keith Av., near College, Oakland. Auspices: East Bay Council of Arts, Sciences & Professions. Tickets: $1.20 each event. Sat. eve. dinner, 85c. Conference registration 50c. YOUR PEACE FESTIVAL—SUPPORT IT.

Los Angeles

"BEHIND THE NEWS"—seminar on current events with Martin Hall, noted lecturer and journalist. Every Mon. eve., 8 p.m., Severance Room, 1st Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8 St.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

SCOTT NEARING SPEAKS on "What Will Peace Cost?" Sun., June 10, 8 p.m. Free adm. Northside Unitarian Church, W. North Av. at Resaca Pl.

BOOKS

Norman Mailer's Man with the Thingumajig

By Cedric Belfrage

NORMAN MAILER, the young ex-GI in whose **The Naked and the Dead** many progressives saw the herald of a great new writing talent, has produced his second novel. In a Brooklyn rooming house he presents:

- **A young ex-GI writing a book, who broods about idealist socialism.**
- **An ex-Communist who once worked for the FBI, but quit them taking with him a mysterious "thing" or "thingumajig."**
- **A swinish FBI agent conducting his own one-man roadshow inquisition, trying to get the ex-Red to give up the "thing."**
- **The ex-Red's "flamboyant, coochy" wife, who exhibits "palpable breasts," "waggles her hips," "snorts," "moans in a fishwife's voice."**
- **Her daughter, aged 3½, who poses obscenely in the nude with a "parody of amorous advance" and "a tiny pout."**
- **An Ophelia type (Trotzky was "the only man she ever truly loved"), who bites her nails, daubs her room (including the windows) with black paint to keep out a mouse, and wanders the streets at night in pajamas thinking that "if I let them fall, I would be naked."**

CAN HE BE SERIOUS? Practically everybody is on the make for practically everybody else, and sex relations in attitudes ranging from despair to mutual hatred to bestiality are indiscriminately achieved. The FBI man kills the ex-Red, who leaves a will bequeathing the "thing" to the writer. The "thing" turns out to be "the remnants of my socialist culture."

Presuming—as we must without an assurance by its author to the contrary—that this weird volume is not intended as a gigantic parody of current "literature" and "thinking," we have to accept it as a "symbolic" statement of the political and philosophical position to which a fine, creative, progressive young mind has been brought by 2½ years of cold-war propaganda.

THAT MAN WITH THE PIPE: It was that long ago—in the first issue of NATIONAL GUARDIAN—that Mailer denounced the hate-Russia campaign as "a reflection of the neurosis of America," and expressed firm faith in the Progressive Party. He now projects the familiar picture of the U.S.S.R. as merely another "exploitative system" which "must depend upon seizing new countries . . . and converting their economy to war." This being so, any organized struggle for social justice and peace in the U.S. becomes futile:

It is not a question of a party now. . . It is the need to study [while] the blind lead the blind and the deaf shout warnings to one another.

Russia, it would appear, deliberately betrayed Norman Mailer just in the nick of time to save Norman Mailer's royalties. This was no doubt churlish of "the man with the pipe" (as Mailer's Trotzkyite Ophelia calls Stalin)—for Mailer is insisting he is still (together with a mere handful of others) a socialist for whom socialism means more than lucre. But it is not so much Mailer's "reformation" concerning Russia that strikes the progressive reader, as the extraordinary accompanying deterioration of his general attitude toward human beings and their relationships.

CONTEMPT FOR HUMANITY: Baffled by the total unreality of every character in the book, one finally comes up with the simple explanation: an originally honest writer turning his back on one aspect of truth necessarily turns his back on all truth. Reverting to sheer infantilism politically, he reverts to it also in his portrayal of ordinary life. The thesis that all states are motivated by violence calls for the corollary that all people are likewise motivated. Mailer so strains to equate love with violence in his sex episodes that they read like the product of a sophomore dewy from his first exposure to Krafft-Ebing.

Even FBI agents are often kind to their mothers, and no group of six Americans could possibly be as vile as the group Mailer has here conceived. If he has sought to express Dostoievskian pity for them, he succeeds only in showing contempt: contempt even for the one character (the ex-Red) whom he seems to want to admire—contempt, indeed, for the whole human race except perhaps Trotzky.

The first shock of finding Mailer in the fetid cave of Arthur Koestler is as great as if a brilliant and promising nephew nad been caught with his hand in the till at the corner store. Progressives will continue to hope that the smell of the cave drives Mailer back into the real world.

BARBARY SHORE, by Norman Mailer. Rinehart, N. Y. 312 pp. $3.

CLASSIFIED

General

POWER LAWN MOWER, ½ H.P. 16" cut. SPECIALLY PRICED at $47.50. Standard Brand Dist., 143 4th Av. (13th & 14th Sts.), N.Y.C. GR 3-7819.

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ARI DIGEST OF SOVIET NEWS. Facts, not fiction. A fact sheet covering current developments in the Soviet Union. Issued monthly at 10c a copy or $1 per year, by American Russian Institute, 1024¼ N. Western Av., Los Angeles 29, Cal.

JOB WANTED: Ex-writer (ex-convict) seeks any honest job at wage that will support wife, 3 children. Recent experience as gas-station attendant, truck-driver (1½-ton flat-bed & dump), storeroom clerk, lawn mowing. References will be supplied by officials of reputable Federal Correctional Institution, on request. Warning: this particular ex-con did not commit reputable crime such as check-kiting, dope peddling, payroll padding, influence peddling, car theft; he is a former political prisoner. Write Natl. Guardian, Box 5853-TT.

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Books

SOVIET IMPRESSIONS, large-size 40-page pamphlet by Dr. John A. Kingsbury, former Commissioner of Charities, City of New York, just published. Story of experiences in Soviet Union, visited Nov., 1950. Single copy 20c; 25 for 15c each.

SEEING IS BELIEVING, a small-size 40-page pamphlet: A Brief Report of American Delegation to Soviet Union in 1950 by nine of its members. Price 5c.

OTHER EDUCATIONAL MATERIAL —bibliographies, pictorial exhibits, pamphlets, Report-on-the-News. All available at National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 114 E. 32d St., New York City.

"I COMMANDED THEM, in the olden time, to kill not at all. My words were plain. But the kings commanded the priests to interpret My words round about, whereby war might be justified. They shall not hide death and murder from My sight by the word war." From the Oahspe Bible. $5 and $2.50 editions. Or, 105 selected pages for 20c. From Gerald Boyce, c/o Box 617, Montrose, Colorado.

Resorts

VACATION TIME IS A MUST at Charmaine Lodge in Waupaca, Wisconsin. Gay informality, variety of sports, delicious food. Supervised children's program. Low rates, especially for groups of 10 or more. Information & Reservations, Rose Harris, 1250 N. Spaulding, Chicago 51, Ill. Phone: SPaulding 2-5984 (after 5:30 p.m.); or Irene Brown, NOrmal 7-1673 (during daytime). SPECIAL DECORATION DAY WEEK-END, Wed., May 30-Sun., June 3, $27.50, or Sat. & Sun., $14.

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FOR SALE, a quiet, restful 77-acre farm on lake in northern Wisconsin. Orchard, excellent buildings and equipped for dairy farming. Here you may fish, swim and boat in your own front yard. Write for pictures. Bertha Kurki, 405 Ogden, Superior, Wisconsin.

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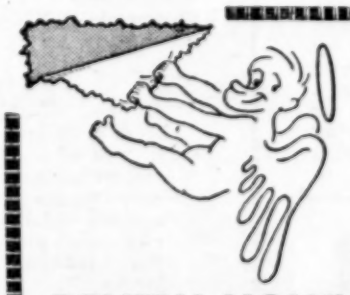

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